291 distance from his home, he wears only a benda (loincloth), which does not even cover his buttocks, and a blanket.

He goes about with torso uncovered and likes to show that he is [229] well muscled. When the women are inside their huts, especially when they are engaged in the laborious task of removing the seeds from cotton with their gourça, they pull their skirts up to the hips, making themselves half-naked.

Young girls who have not yet reached puberty and are not yet excised often go about completely nude, unless they hide their sex behind the rags of an old skirt.

Personal Grooming

Ablutions and Care of the Body

● 515 Married persons and women are fastidious about body cleanliness and therefore have a regular morning routine. This involves washing the face, hands, arms, and legs. During the cool season (end of November to February 15), a little karite butter is added [271] to warm water to soften the skin. Since water is scarce, people take few baths. In villages where there is abundant water, however, the inhabitants bathe two or three times a week.

Unlike their elders, young people and children are careless about cleanliness and may go about all day long without washing [164] their faces. This gives rise, incidentally, to serious cases of conjunctivitis among the children.

Sanitation

312 Drinking water. Water for general use is obtained from 271 water holes created [230] by the inhabitants with dams in order to supplement the wells which often run dry during the dry season. The natives make no effort to purify the water which they often keep for days in containers where mosquito larvae flourish. Pond water is used for drinking. In some villages, however, where the water is actually muddy, the following measure are taken to clear it.

(a) The oil is extracted from crushed peanuts, and the residue is put into the muddy water. It takes about three-quarters of an

312 hour for the impurities and the residue to settle to the bottom of
271 the vessel. Then the water is poured off into another container and is ready to be used for drinking or cooking.

[824] (b) It is also possible to use an additive known as missim (crushed tamarind leaves). The water becomes clear, but it is, of course, somewhat sour. Although it may be drunk, it is [552] ideally suited to cooking since the Mossi add missim (from miki, "to make sour") even to the water of springs and wells before they use it to prepare their principal food, sagbo.

744 In the town of Ouagadougou frequent visits by the sanitary
312 officers remind the natives of the necessity of keeping fresh water in their containers. They are also encouraged to fill in during the winter the low places holding water where mosquitoes might breed.

● 515 Laundering. There is no doubt [231] that the Moaga is care-
296 less about the cleanliness of his clothing. There is no shortage of soap -- karite butter, of which it is made, is plentiful -- but he believes that frequent laundering will wear out his clothes too quickly. He also thinks -- which is childish -- that the dirtier a garment is, the cleaner it will wash. He thinks it completely ridiculous for clothes to be ironed. It must be admitted that among the Mossi only a married man can require his wives to wash his clothes. A mother also takes care of her children's clothes, but a bachelor is forced to wash his own things. This, we think, explains the extreme negligence shown by some of them [461] who let their clothes get dirtier and dirtier. Indolence, alas, is one of the dominant defects of the native of Mossi country.

514 Toilet arrangements. In general the Mossi have no regular latrines. Men, women, in short, everyone, simply goes into the bush. The only exception is the very young children who take care of their needs on the threshold. At night, especially during the winter when the grain is fairly tall, grownups themselves go to the kamanga or karaga (millet or maize field near the living quarters).

364 When the town of Ouagadougou was made a mixed commune [Ed., smallest French territorial subdivision, with both French and native representation in the municipal council], it was possible to install, at municipal expense, a number of lavatories in certain

364 For the Mossi, as for all other men, life ends in death, with or without illness. The Blacks do not know how to prevent diseases, and they know very little about fighting them. Hygiene is almost unknown. The huts are poorly aired, the chickens and in general all the animals in the inner courtyard walk everywhere and foul everything. The courtyard is swept often, but the hut of the sheep and goats is located in the midst of the other dwellings; the horse is kept within the soukala [514] itself; and people relieve themselves anywhere, wherever they find a convenient spot. The manure is gathered in a heap, but it is kept next to the huts and gives off a nauseating smell and noxious miasmas, especially at the beginning of the rainy season.

515 The Mossi are not dirty, but they cannot be called clean. Those who dwell in villages abundantly supplied with water at all times are the cleanest. The women, who fetch water every day and thus have an opportunity to wash, are usually cleaner than the men. A Mossi never passes a pond without drinking copiously and washing all over, and this would seem to prove that those who go dirty do so unwillingly; they have no water nearby, and it would be too much trouble to go to the river to bathe. Clothing, especially breechcloths, is often repulsively dirty. This is because washing wears out clothes, and who knows when new ones will be available? No wonder disease has such a hold on this people.

855 165 Child care is quite rudimentary: a few baths; enemas two or three times a day, without which it is said their bowels would not move; and that is all. At the slightest indisposition the sorcerer is consulted, or else the child is left to himself; he will get well or die, and nothing is done about it. As a consequence, child mortality is very high.

758 Those who fall prey to a contagious disease are not isolated. A healthy child lies on the same mat as one with smallpox, a leper drinks from the common gourd unless his lips are covered with sores. People do, however, hesitate to sit where a syphilitic person with sores previously sat. The education of the Mossi in matters of hygiene is wholly yet to be learned.

576 On meeting someone, Mossi politeness requires that an inquiry be made about his health and that of all his relatives. The response invariably is "So-and-So is well," and the other in turn responds, "May God permit his health to wax." It is only after a little conversation that a certain person is said to be ill or to be getting better.

195 It is not said that someone died, but that he ran short of strength, that he passed away, that he left us.

8: Skinner E-5 (1955-1957) 1958
FA28 Mossi FA28

797 sands of Mossi who fled their homeland to escape forced labor or military service ultimately returned as Moslems, but the majority of seasonal migrants do
169 not have enough contact with foreign populations for them to become Moslems. Most of the Mossi who migrate to Ghana work on cocoa farms far removed from large centers of population. It is also true that even those Mossi who worked for Moslems on the farms and found it expedient to "pray" (as the Mossi refer to conversion to Islam) soon reverted to paganism on their return in order to escape the displeasure of their lineage members. I have recorded several cases of pagans who became Moslems only when they returned from abroad to find their relatives all converted to Islam.

571 Today there are obvious rewards for those Mossi who embrace Islam; be-
797 sides such tangible rewards as getting wives and children, there are the intan-
554 gible ones of upward social mobility and greater prestige. It is important to
566 note that most liberated slaves and serfs are now Moslems. Formerly these non-
[567] Mossi had low status, but today those who have been to Mecca bear such proud titles as *Hadji*. On the night before Ramadan, one of these men gave a talk before the Nobéré chief during which he chided the chief for his impiety and voiced the hope that the next chief would be a true Moslem. He admitted that the chief might interpret such a speech from a former serf as impertinence, but he begged him to accept the censure as coming from the servant of *Nabiyama* (the prophet). This same man had refused to pay homage to the chief at the annual sacrifice to the ancestors, and when admonished returned the daughter which the chief had given him as a wife. In earlier days a chief would not have given a daughter to a serf, and moreover, a disrespectful serf could be killed instantly.

797 Many French administrators and Christian missionaries allege that Mossi
291 youth embrace Islam because they like the beautiful robes and red fezzes of the
●515 Moslems, but this is a naive explanation for the conduct of a highly sophisticated people. Most young men in Nobéré wear Moslem-type clothes because such clothes are the mode. Now that sun helmets, dark glasses, and women's raincoats with hoods are in vogue, pagans as well as Moslems wear them. What is of interest, however, is that when pagans become Moslems they wear cleaner clothes and affect a different style of life.

794 The local consensus is that Moslems are much better behaved than pagans
577 because they do not swear, fight, or get drunk in public. The man chosen as Imam is required to have such characteristics as mercy toward evil-doers, benevolence, magnanimity, physical beauty, and virility. Yet many Mossi say that the Moslems can be worse than any other people. They accuse them of being charlatans, of selling Koranic verses as charms, and of committing murder by the use of magical formulae. Neither pagans nor Moslems believe that a man is necessarily good because he recites his daily prayers or goes to Mecca.

794 Moslems in the district follow most precepts of their religion: they recite the five daily prayers according to the rites of Tidjani (there are only two Moslems of the Hamada sect in the district and no members of the Hamallist sect), give alms to the poor, observe the month-long fast (called by the Mossi the